Contents

List of figures page xii
List of tables xiii
Preface xv

1 Democracy from Public Administration 1
   The Values of Representative Government 3
   Characters 5
      Representatives 5
      Policy Workers 6
      Managers 6
      Champions 7
   The Argument in Brief 8
   Plan of the Book 12

2 Accountability Values 15
   Who Closed the Port of Lampedusa? 18
   Theories of Electoral Accountability 23
      The Selection View of Electoral Accountability 24
      The Sanctioning View of Electoral Accountability 25
   Institutions, Parties, and Electoral Accountability 30
   Deviations from the Mandate and Conditional Representation 34
   Accountability Errors 38
      Identifiability Errors 39
      Evaluability Errors 42
   Citizens’ Heuristics for Retrospection 45
   Blame Avoidance Strategies 49
   Conclusion 52
   Appendix: Data, Methods, and Detailed Results 54
## Contents

3  Process Values  58  
   Pluralism  61  
   Epistemic Arguments  63  
   Deliberative Arguments  64  
   Majoritarianism  66  
   Collective Rationality  68  
   What Do Citizens Want from Their Democracy?  72  
   Conclusion  75  
   Appendix: Data, Methods, and Detailed Results  77  

4  Governance Structures and Democratic Values  83  
   The Champion’s Dilemma  84  
   The Fundamental Problem of Public Administration  85  
   Accountability to Representative Government  86  
   Autonomy from Representative Government  90  
   Evaluating Governance Structures Democratically  93  
   Controlled Agency  95  
   The Impossibility of Neutral Controlled Agency  97  
   The BAMF-Affäre  99  
   Managed Agency  103  
   Ingredients of Managerialism  104  
   An Escape from Prison Bureaucracy?  106  
   Representative Agency  110  
   Bringing Citizens Back In  111  
   Budgets of the People, by the People, for the People  118  
   Independent Agency  124  
   Credibility and Independence  125  
   The Costs of Independence  127  
   Art’s Length  131  
   Conclusion  135  
   Appendix: The Accountability Index  137  

5  The Value Reinforcement Hypothesis  139  
   Value Reinforcement as a Positive Claim  143  
   Accountability and Process Values in New Public Management  144  
   Institutional Reinforcement in Britain and the Netherlands  147  
   Behavioral Reinforcement among European Managers  152  
   A Research Agenda for Value Reinforcement  159  
   Theory Development  159  
   Empirical Study  160  
   Conclusion  164  
   Appendix: Data, Methods, and Detailed Results  166
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Complementarity Principle</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The State and Responsible Policy Work</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legitimating State Power</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Public Administration and the State</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governance Structures and the Representation</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Idea of Responsible Policy Work</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responsible Value Reinforcement</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Complementarity Principle</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Further Problems for Democracy Administered</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bibliography</strong></td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Index</strong></td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>